DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 058 424 VT 014 430

TITLE	Changing Horizons.
INSTITUTION	Department of Labour and National Service, Melbourne (Australia). Women's Bureau.
PUB DATE	Oct 70
NOTE	40p.; Women in the Work Force Series 9
AVAILABLE FROM	Department of Labour and National Service, Princes Gate, 151 Flinders Street, Melbourne, Vic. 3000, Australia
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	Child Care Centers; Community Attitudes; Day Care Services; *Educational Opportunities; Employer Attitudes; *Employment Opportunities; *Labor Force; Labor Supply; *Manpower Utilization; Working Parents; *Working Women
IDENTIFIERS	*Australia; Labor Force Participation

ABSTRACT

Due to the entry of large numbers of married women, the female work force in Australia has grown greatly and continues to grow at a faster rate than the male work force. With the increase of working mothers, communities and industry need to consider child care centers for young children, after-school and holiday projects for school-aged children, and availability of part-time employment. The educational preparation and training of males and females showed a great upsurge during the 1960's, and the number of females seeking higher education has increased. In terms of industries in which women are employed and the occupations in which they are engaged, there has been little change in the past 20 years. Few women are in top employment positions, and few have developed trade skills. In the 1960's women tended to cluster in: (1) educational and training courses "acceptable" for females, (2) occupations which offer females clean work under good conditions, and (3) occupations where job satisfaction is of prime consideration. Of the barriers restricting wider employment opportunities for women, attitudinal restructions are by far the most important and difficult to surmount. In view of these restrictions, it was recommended that employers offer wider job and career opportunities to women and that working women seek and accept these opportunities. (SB)

ED058424

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE

WOMEN IN THE WORK FORCE

No. 9
October 1970

CHANGING HORIZONS

VT014430

WOMEN IN THE WORK FORCE

This series of publications presents research findings, articles, statistical data and other information dealing with various aspects of women's employment and their role in Australian society. The series is prepared in the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour and National Service.

The Department is interested in the developing role of women in the work force and is concerned with encouraging the best possible use of the talents and abilities of Australian women. Accordingly, this series is designed for those involved in personnel management, employer and employee organisations, and for education and training officers. It is also directed towards research workers and other organisations and individuals interested in the economic, industrial and social trends affecting the employment of women and girls.

No specific interval between issues is planned for the series; they will be published as results of research studies become available.

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2.	**Trends in Employment**	**July 1967**
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6.	**Facts and Figures (revised)** ...	**December 1968**
7.	**Child Care Centres**	**January 1970**
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Women in the Work Force Series
Booklet No. 9

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CHANGING HORIZONS

WOMEN'S BUREAU
DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE

October, 1970 Melbourne

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INTRODUCTION

"Changing Horizons" describes the changing role of female labour in Australia. It begins by referring to some aspects of female employment in colonial days and goes on to trace the developments that have occurred in the present century.

"Changing Horizons" questions the community attitudes that seem to restrict women to a narrow range of occupations and to lower level jobs; it makes the plea that employers offer wider job and career opportunities to women, and that working women seek and accept these opportunities. Developments in this direction are already discernible. The 1960's saw considerable changes in the employment of women which affected both their working lives and their propensity to seek employment.

The granting of equal pay to an increasing range of women workers has meant that for teachers, actors, public servants, metal workers, bank officers, meat workers, police, psychiatric nurses and many other occupations, remuneration is being assessed according to the position held or the work performed rather than by the sex of the worker.

Removal of the marriage bar in the Commonwealth and the State Public Services has meant that female public servants enjoy rights of tenure regardless of their marital status and, in addition, can benefit from accompanying maternity leave provisions.

The increasing community acceptance of the concept of the working wife is resulting in a re-appraisal of child care services; in encouraging the availability of part-time employment; and in a realization of the importance of training and job choice for girls.

Wider educational opportunities mean that, today at least some secondary education is guaranteed for every child. In tertiary education, the emerging colleges of advanced education as well as the universities are offering both boys and girls a greater range and variety of training courses often for newly emerging occupations. More and more, parents themselves are ensuring that their daughters have the same chances for higher education as their sons.

"Changing Horizons" shows that women are eagerly availing themselves of the opportunities which the above changes have created; married women, in particular, are re-entering the work force at a rate far in excess of the growth of both the population and the work force as a whole.

However in some areas of employment, despite changed attitudes and relaxation of restrictions, women's employment opportunities are not widening and have remained static for some twenty years.

This report begins by looking briefly at some characteristics of the early female 'breadwinner' in Australia; and contrasting them with those of the modern working woman. Then prevailing patterns of industrial and occupational distribution of female workers are presented

together with a note on female remuneration. The role of education and training as a foundation for employment opportunities is discussed as are some legal provisions affecting the employment of women.

Finally, patterns and influences presented in the individual chapters are drawn together in an attempt not only to discern what the existing position of the working woman is, but to note where attitudes and other restrictions prejudicial to her more effective employment need relaxation, in order to allow women opportunities in employment equal to those available to men.

Chapter 1: CHANGES IN WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT TO DATE

BEFORE FEDERATION (1901)

The economic, social and political rights of women are by no means a recent issue. Many of the leading thinkers in Australia in the 1860's saw political equality as a sequel to the gaining of economic equality for women. Women's unions formed in 1891 were seen as a necessary step in winning economic equality. One comment from the time is that by Louisa Lawson:

> "It is impossible to raise labour as a whole without securing justice to working women. The low wages paid for female labour which are a disgrace to our civilization, continually tend to keep down the rate of pay for all classes of workers".
>
> (Gollan, 1967, p. 179)

For those women who sought employment — either from economic necessity or from a sense of adventure — what opportunities were available?

For 'educated' ladies in the 1860's the only occupation considered really suitable was that of governess either with a family or in a ladies' school. Even the new profession of nursing which received much of its impetus during the Crimean War was still not generally accepted although there were some exceptions recorded. For example, in Melbourne in 1861, it was noted:

> "We have a thorough lady for the matron of our Lying-in Hospital and the benefits are incalculable — the respect she receives from the inferior servants, and the order in which everything is kept, bear testimony that when you can get a "lady of judgment" to superintend a public asylum, it is far better than having a merely good housekeeper".
>
> (Monk, 1963, p. 81)

The social rating of domestic service was particularly low. Indeed young British women willing to emigrate to take up domestic employment received assistance with their passage to Australia, but the agents recruiting such labour were concerned more with filling the ships than with the character of the women. Some colonists found that instead of the 'good servants' they sought, their new employees were often prostitutes and slatterns.

However, so great was the demand for domestic service that on arrival in Australia, even the 'educated ladies' were sometimes attracted to domestic service because of the financially greater rewards. One lady wrote in 1864:

> "Were I in the position of the 3rd and 4th rate Governess . . . in England, I would unhesitatingly become a domestic servant in Australia in preference. Here, housemaids have from £25 to £30 or good cooks £35 a year or £40. It is pitiable to think of young women, nominally governesses yet little more than nurse maids, toiling for perhaps only £10 a year".
>
> (Monk, 1963, p. 103)

Women were found in a fairly wide range of occupations, considering the social attitudes and employment opportunities of the time. In 1887, one writer noted:

> "Almost every employment possible to Women is now, more or less, open; pioneers have

made breaches even in callings hitherto so exclusively appropriated by men, as stock-broking and landscape gardening; girls of a tender age are casting about, not so much for the means of education as for that of a livelihood; and public opinion, instead of being adverse to a woman's earning her living or 'aking a salary, has set quite in the opposite direction".

(Monk, 1963, p. 163)

Domestic service remained, however, the major avenue of employment for women.

IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, 1901-1970

Since 1901 signif.cant changes have taken place in the magnitude and composition of the female work force, and the occupational choice of women workers. These changes have been interwoven with other important trends that have affected the community as a whole — economic, demographic, educational, social and technological.

Growth of Population and Labour Force

In 1901 there were less than four million people in Australia and nearly 200,000 more males than females. More than one-third of the population was under 15 years of age.

Available female labour at the time was limited in the main to young unmarried women. As the population itself was youthful the participation rate of females in the work force was relatively high, namely 20%.

However in 1970 the young unmarried woman is no longer the predominant source of female labour; the predominant source is now the older, married woman. The work force participation rate of the former has declined in recent years, while the participation of the latter group has increased with the result that the overall female participation rate has risen to about 28% in 1970.* The recent increasing proportion of young persons in the population has not influenced overall female work force participation† (or for that matter male work force participation) as there has been a growing ten-

* This percentage is based on the total female population. For females 15 years and over the percentage was 38.4% (based on February 1970 estimates of the labour force provided by C.B.C.S.)

† It should be noted that because of the changing definition of the work force from time to time work force statistics are not always strictly comparable from Census to Census.

For example, before the 1947 Census, persons were broadly distributed between breadwinners and dependants, with persons of independent means and pensioners classified as breadwinners. In 1947 the term work force was used; those not in the work force were classified as inactive population. The inactive population included not only dependants but also pensioners and persons of independent means.

Similarly, changes were made to the 1966 Census. New criteria were introduced to enable a more precise determination of the work force to be made. A major factor in this change was the inclusion in the work force in 1966 of a considerable number of females working part-time, many of whom were excluded from the work force at earlier Censuses.

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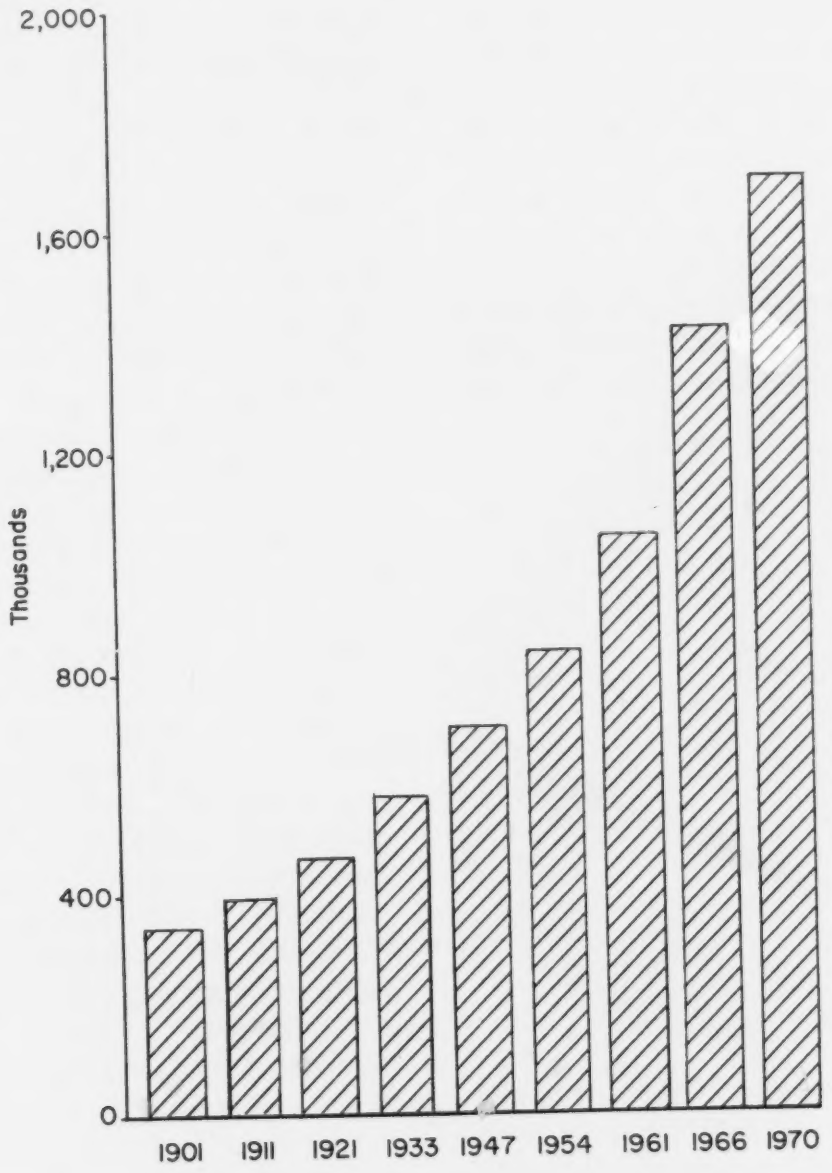


Source: 1901-1966, Census
1970 C.B.C.S. Labour Force Estimates. Feb. 1970.

FIGURE 1: *Female Work Force, 1901-1970**

dency for young persons to stay longer in full-time education.

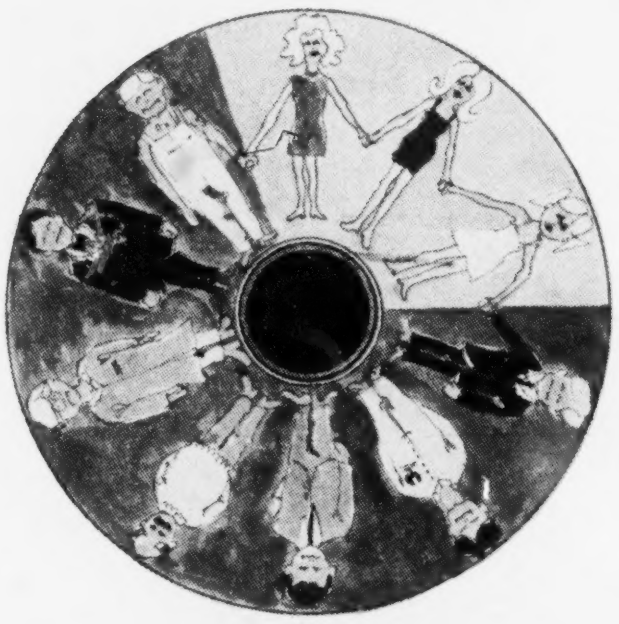
Overall between 1901 and 1970 the number of women in the labour force increased almost fourfold while the population trebled. (See Figure 1). So in terms of increased participation of women in the labour force, the growth in the last 70 years is not unduly remarkable.

The significance of the growth of the female work force can be seen more clearly in terms of the proportion they

* See second footnote p. 10.

represented in the total work force; for while the participation rate of women in the work force was rising gradually as described above, that of men was falling somewhat, due to the increasing tendency for young men to continue in full-time study.

The percentage of women in the total work force remained almost stationary from 1901 to 1921 at about 20%, while there were small but steady increases



shown in the Censuses of 1933, 1947 and 1954. However, in the Censuses of 1961 and 1966 the percentage increased sharply to 25.1% and 29.8% respectively.* In February, 1970, the comparable figure was estimated to be 32%.

In the early years of this century, domestic service and dressmaking were the most popular occupations among female breadwinners. However, domestic service after continuing to increase numerically at each Census up to 1933, declined thereafter; by 1966, less than 11% of working women were so engaged, compared with 46% in 1901.†

The proportion of women working in primary industry decreased from 1901 to 1966, as might be expected with the increasing mechanisation of agriculture, the drift to the cities, and the overall growth in the number of women working. The decrease in the proportion of women working in primary industry has been offset by a five-fold increase in the proportion working in secondary industry; and a fifteen-fold increase in transport and communication. In particular, proportions of women engaged in clerical, professional, manufacturing and service occupations increased most markedly — in 1966, over 70 per cent of the female work force was in these areas.

A number of factors can be discerned which have contributed to the overall growth of the female labour force.

Continued full employment since World War II has considerably expanded employment opportunities for women as well as men.

Advances in technology have had a special significance. By simplifying work and rendering it less physically arduous mechanisation has made possible the utilisation of a female work force with little or no skill in all kinds of industries.

Similarly at home: the widespread availability of electrically powered household appliances has freed many women of much household drudgery, thereby enabling them to devote more of their energies and talents to activities outside the home, without unduly interfering with their role as wives and mothers.

Demographic changes too have played

* Changed definition of the work force, see second footnote p. 10.

† The apparent slight increase in 1966 is due to the changed definition of the work force. See p. 10.

a part in increasing the participation of women in the work force.

Women now tend to marry at an earlier age than in 1901, have slightly fewer children and complete child-bearing at a younger age. These changes, combined with a greater life expectancy, now give many married women the opportunity to work for some 20 to 30 years between initial family formation and retirement.

At the turn of the century, a woman would probably have ceased paid employment permanently on marriage at about the age of 25 years. Her remaining life span (of some 30 years) would have been devoted to child-bearing and child-raising, with little opportunity for employment outside the home.

By contrast in the 1970's a woman is likely to continue working for several years after marriage, to withdraw temporarily from the work force to bear and raise her children, but to return to paid employment from approximately the age of 35 years and continue with the dual responsibility of family and employment for some 25 years.

Correspondingly, attitudes towards married women working have gradually been changing. In "Women in Australia", McKenzie discusses the conservative attitudes towards the employment of women which grew up in the aftermath of the industrial revolution:

> "When work was separated from the home, and much of it was heavy, unpleasant or in some other way unsuitable for women, a stereotype of the male breadwinner was created. When women had large families, and their expectation of life was shorter, it was normal for their adult lives to be taken up with child-bearing and child-rearing. When, among the middle and upper classes, work was considered unladylike, paid employment for women had no prestige and was identified with poverty. To these historical factors must be added the probability that most women would marry, and that their experience and their aspirations would therefore be pitched at a lower level than those of men. Taken altogether all these formative influences have led to deep-rooted conceptions (and often misconceptions) of male and female 'traits or abilities' ".
>
> (McKenzie, 1962, pp. 134-5)

The emergencies of World War II, just as in World War I, helped eradicate many established traditions and attitudes regarding the employment of women. Due to acute manpower shortages in the 1940's women were called upon to undertake tasks previously thought unsuitable for them. They acquired new skills and were promoted to positions of responsibility. Their employment was accepted as a praiseworthy contribution to the war effort. Overall, the war broadened the scope of women's employment, and this

trend has accelerated in the last decade.

The debate on whether married women should work still echoes today and there are still a great many people who strongly believe that the axiom, "a woman's place is in the home", should be strictly observed. The traditional opposition to married women working is summarised succinctly by Martin and Richmond:

> "It is claimed that married women deprive men (and single women) of jobs; it is argued that as employees they are inefficient and unreliable, and that they are needed in the home to look after their husbands and children".
>
> (Martin and Richmond, 1968, p. 5)

As discussed earlier, more and more married women do wish to enter the work force. Often it is in the interests of the women themselves to seek some activity to fill satisfactorily the period after their families have grown up: and it can be in the interests of the family too as many mothers who work are motivated by the wish to strengthen their families, rather than to escape them.

Chapter 2: SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT TODAY

This chapter indicates the changing proportion of married women in the work force, highlights the arrangements that working mothers make for the care of their children, points to the growing demand for part-time employment and draws attention to the increasing proportion of migrant women in the work force.

Between 1947 and 1966* the number of married women in the work force increased by 578,000. This represented more than a fivefold increase, which was substantially larger than the 50% rise in the number of married women in the population over the same period. The estimated increase of married women in the work force between 1966 and 1970 has likewise been remarkable. Early in 1970, the number of married women in the work force was estimated at just under one million.†

In relation to the total female work force, the proportion of married women at work has also been rising dramatically — from 5.4% in 1933 to 15.3% in 1947, 47.8% in 1966, and to about 54% in 1970.

Looking at this another way, whereas in 1947, one out of five married women worked, in 1970, the ratio is one in three. As to be expected with this development, the median age of the female work force has increased from 24.4 years in 1911 to 30.8 years in 1966.

In 1970, over 40 per cent of all married women between the ages of thirty-five and forty-four were estimated to be in the work force. This age group showed the greatest increase in work force participation between 1966 and 1970. In the same period the work force participation of married women in the twenty-five to thirty-four year age range remained relatively low, which reflects the main period of family formation.

Working Mothers

In May, 1969, the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics (C.B.C.S.) conducted a survey to ascertain various facts relating to working women and their children.

The survey showed that an estimated 403,000 working women had responsibility‡ for the care of children under the age of twelve years. Almost one out of every four working women had at least one child under the age of twelve years; and one out of every eight had a child less than six years.

The survey also showed that most working mothers sought to place, or placed, their young children during working

* The changed definition of the work force, and its implications noted in the second footnote on page 10 must be taken into account.

† In this instance "married" includes women both married with husband present and married though permanently separated.

‡ In the C.B.C.S. survey, the **person responsible** for the care of a child under twelve years of age was defined as the person who, being a member of the household to which the child belonged, ranked highest in the following list:

(a) child's mother, step-mother, foster mother, female guardian.
(b) child's father, step-father, foster father, male guardian.
(c) any other person considered by the respondent as being responsible for the child.

hours with relatives, neighbours or friends. In fact, only some seven per cent of the 270,000 children whose mothers worked and who were less than six years old were being placed in child care centres. This general pattern of child care arrangements appears to be very similar to that in the United Kingdom, Canada and the U.S.A.

An interesting aspect of the survey was that an estimated 91,500 women, not in the work force and with children under six years of age, indicated that they would have sought work if suitable child care arrangements had been available. Most of these mothers considered that a child care centre or after-school programme would be necessary for the adequate care of their young children if they went to work.

The survey analysed the arrangements made by working mothers* for the after-school and holiday care of older children. Slightly less than one-third of the estimated 263,500 working mothers* with children aged between four and eleven years made arrangements with relatives (sometimes older brothers and sisters of the children) and friends for the care of their children during these times; slightly more than one-third worked only during school hours or at night. Clearly, the availability of part-time work must have a considerable influence on the decision of many women with school children to work.

It was also apparent from the above and other studies that difficulties in making adequate arrangements for the care of their children during school holidays caused many working mothers to leave their employment. A disturbing find from the C.B.C.S. survey was that some 45,000 working mothers* did not appear to make after-school arrangements for the care of their children aged between four and eleven years.

Part-time Employment‡

As mentioned above interest in part-time employment by women arises because for those who are wives and mothers there are responsibilities other than employment.

In February, 1970 the Bureau of Census and Statistics estimated that 433,800 (25.4 per cent) of the 1,706,400 females in the work force usually worked part-time (i.e. less than 35 hours per week).† This is in contrast with 3 per cent of the male labour force who were part-time workers.

Of the females who usually worked part-time, 346,200 (79.5 per cent) were married women. Where there was only one child under six years of age, mothers were slightly more likely to work full-time than part-time. But among the 56,400 working mothers with two or more children under six years of age, almost all (94%) worked part-time. In all, less than one-quarter of the women working part-time had children under six years of age.

As may be expected a high proportion of the married women employed in service industries worked part-time. (Further details on the employment of married women in the various industrial groups are given in Chapter 3.)

* Working mothers, and fathers in single-parent families. See footnote p. 15.

‡ See also **Women in the Work Force** No. 8, "Some Aspects of Part-time Employment".

† The C.B.C.S. quarterly estimates of "The Labour Force" define the part-time labour force as comprising those persons who usually work less than 35 hours per week and did so during the survey week.

TABLE 1: *Female Migrants in the Work Force*

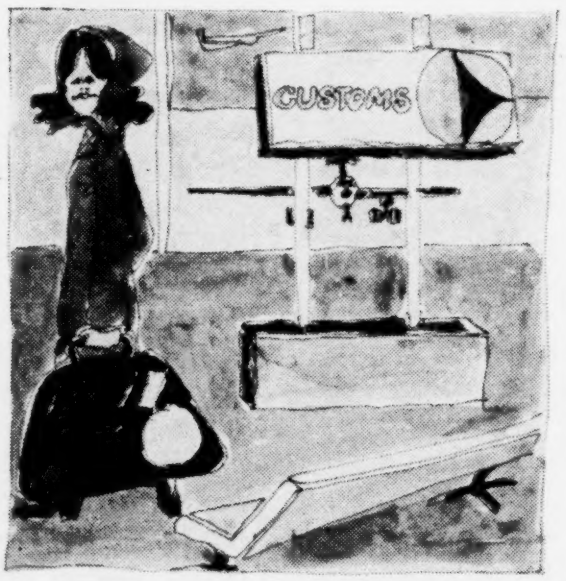
Year	Migrant female work force	Total female work force	Female migrants in the labour force as a percentage of the total female work force	Female migrants as a percentage of the total female population
			%	%
1947	52,000	717,000	7.3	8.7
1954	132,741	845,402	15.7	12.5
1961	221,790	1,059,169	20.9	15.2
1966	336,967	1,434,641	23.4	17.1

Migrant Women

Female migrants* have contributed significantly to the expansion of the female work force. Since 1947, the migrant component has increased as shown in Table 1.

Migrant women have a higher work force participation rate than Australian-born women.

* Women born outside Australia.



Chapter 3: PATTERNS OF DISTRIBUTION: BY INDUSTRY, OCCUPATION AND REMUNERATION

At the 1966 Census, three major industry groups accounted for 66 per cent of the female work force. These were manufacturing (22.5%), community and business services (22.0%), and commerce (21.4%) as shown in Figure 2.

For married women at work, the latest estimates of their distribution by industry are shown in Figure 3. The number working part-time in each industry group is also shown.

In two industry groups, community and business services, and agriculture, married women usually working part-time outnumbered those usually working full-time. Conversely, of all married women, usually working part-time, approximately 70% were employed in three industry groups—commerce, community and business services, and amusements, hotels and personal services. The manufacturing industry, despite the fact that it is a large employer of married women, offers proportionately little part-time employment.

Occupational Trends

There has been a marked increase in the employment opportunities available for women, and they now have a wider and more diverse range of employment at all levels of skill and responsibility than in the past. According to the 1966 Census women were engaged in 791 of the 860 occupations recorded by the Statistician.

However, despite the employment of women in such a high proportion of recorded occupations, the majority of women still concentrate in the traditional occupations of clerk, saleswoman, typist, stenographer, domestic, clothing and textile worker, nurse and teacher. In fact, these eight occupations between them accounted for the employment of more than 65% of women in the work force in 1966 (See Figure 4).

In particular, concentration in the clerical area remains a marked feature of women's employment.

Another interesting feature is that there is a difference in the occupational distribution of married and single women* (See Figure 5).

Nearly six out of every ten single women working were in either clerical or professional occupations. A high proportion of married women also work in these areas. However, the proportion of married women was greater than that of single women in sales, process and labouring work and personal service.

The limitations on the employment of females are particularly noticeable in professional occupations. A survey by the Melbourne University Appointments Board showed that females represented a substantial proportion of the professional work force in only two major occupations — teaching and social work — and that only a very small percentage

* In this section, "married" specifically includes those women married, with husband present, and those married women permanently separated from their husband.
"Single" includes those women who have never married, are divorced, or widowed.

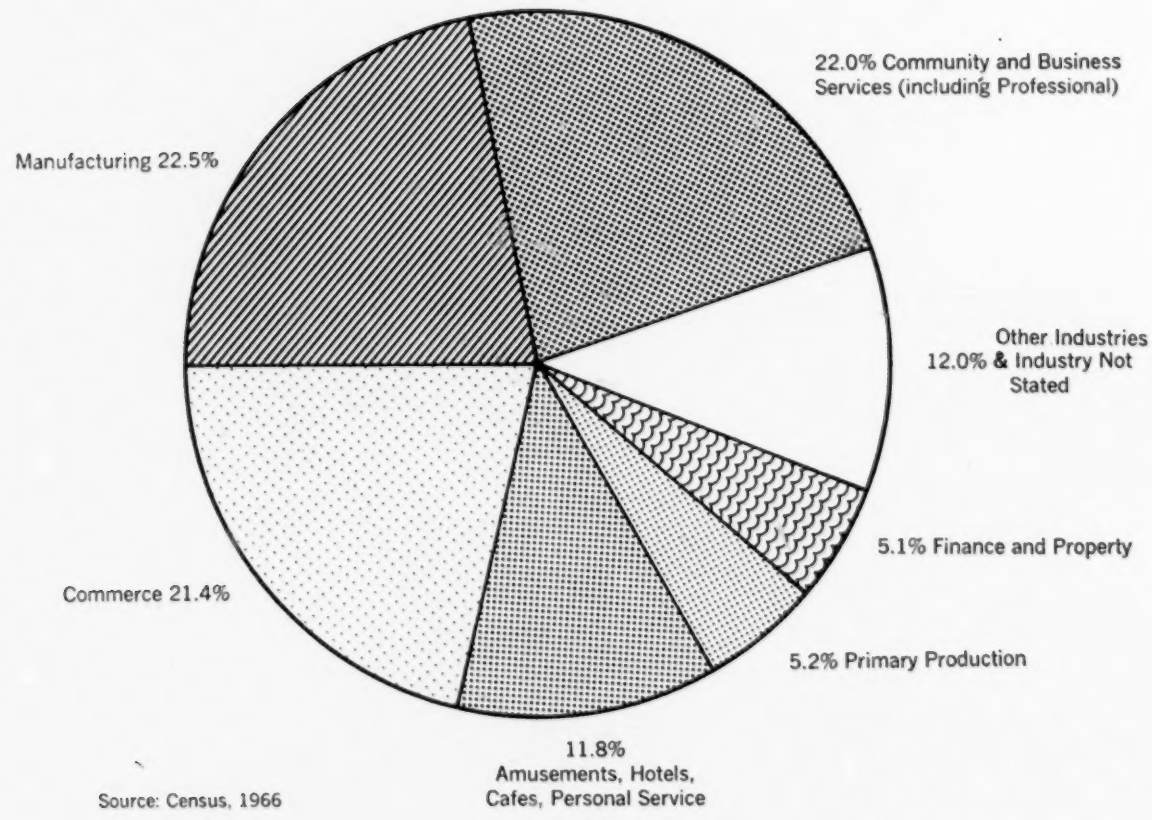

22.0% Community and Business Services (including Professional)
Manufacturing 22.5%
Other Industries 12.0% & Industry Not Stated
5.1% Finance and Property
Commerce 21.4%
5.2% Primary Production
11.8% Amusements, Hotels, Cafes, Personal Service
Source: Census, 1966

FIGURE 2: *Industrial Distribution of Female Work Force, 1966*

WOMEN IN THE WORK FORCE

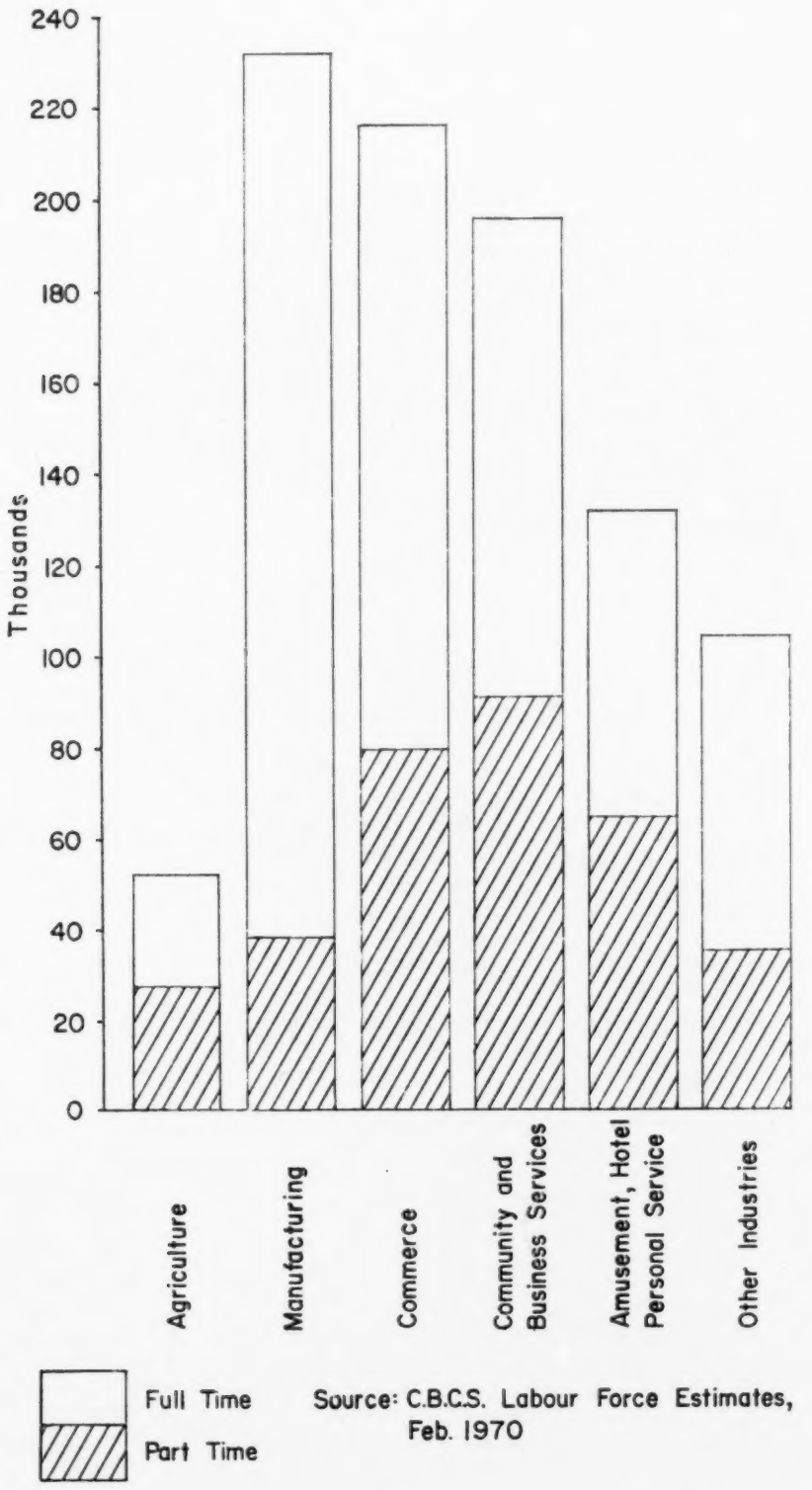


FIGURE 3: *Industrial Distribution of Employed Married Women, by Full or Part-Time Work, 1970*

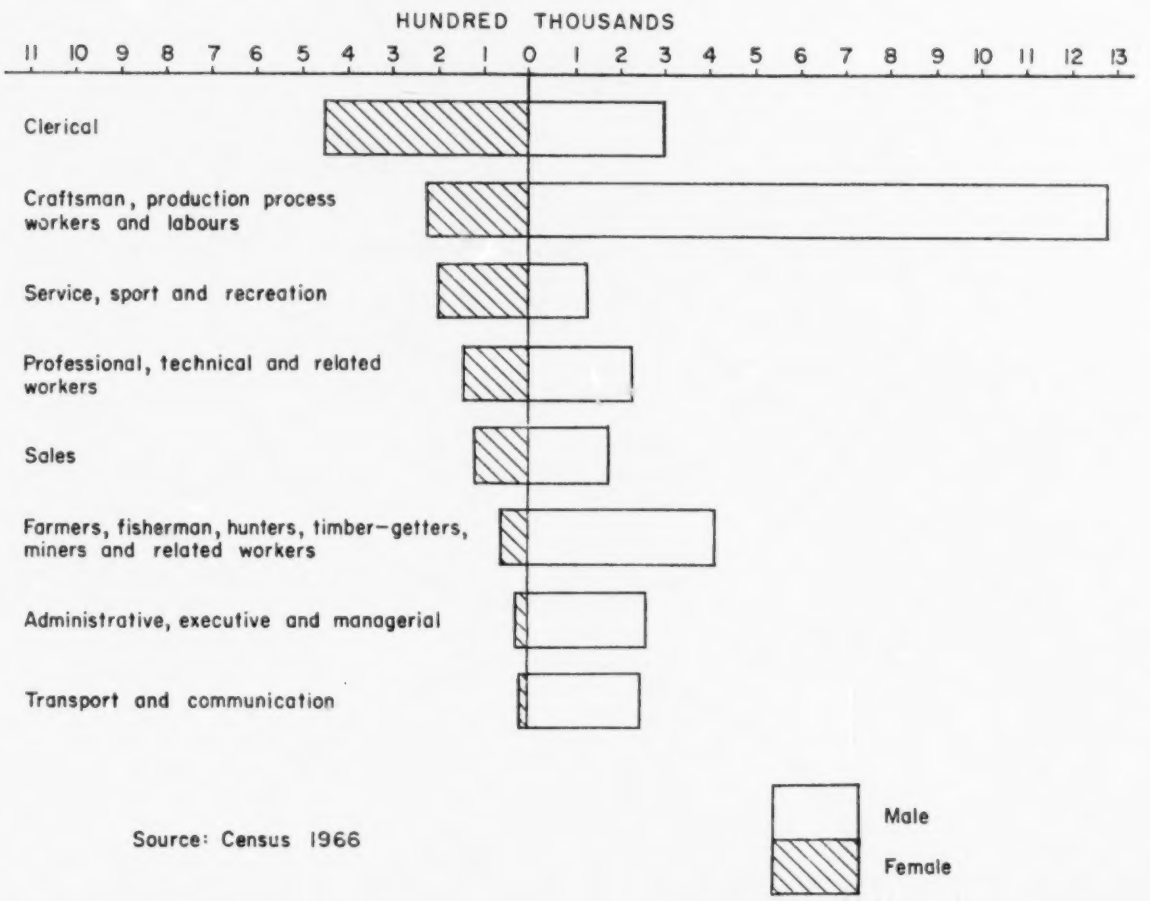
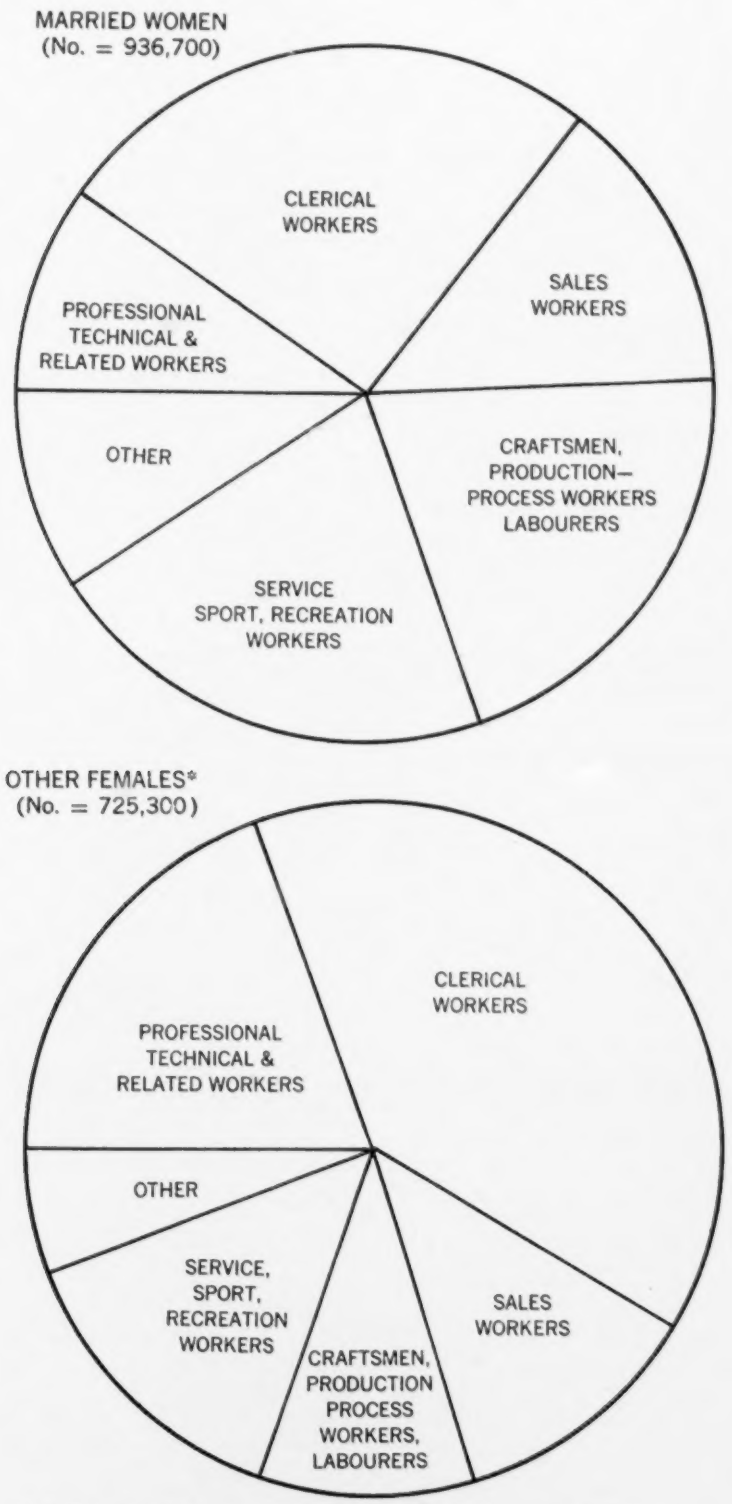

HUNDRED THOUSANDS
11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
Clerical
Craftsman, production process workers and labours
Service, sport and recreation
Professional, technical and related workers
Sales
Farmers, fisherman, hunters, timber-getters, miners and related workers
Administrative, executive and managerial
Transport and communication
Source: Census 1966
Male
Female

FIGURE 4: *Occupational Distribution of Work Force, by Sex, 1966.*



*Includes single, widowed and divorced women
Source: C.B.C.S. Labour Force Estimates, Feb. 1970

FIGURE 5: *Occupational Distribution of Women, by Marital Status, 1970*

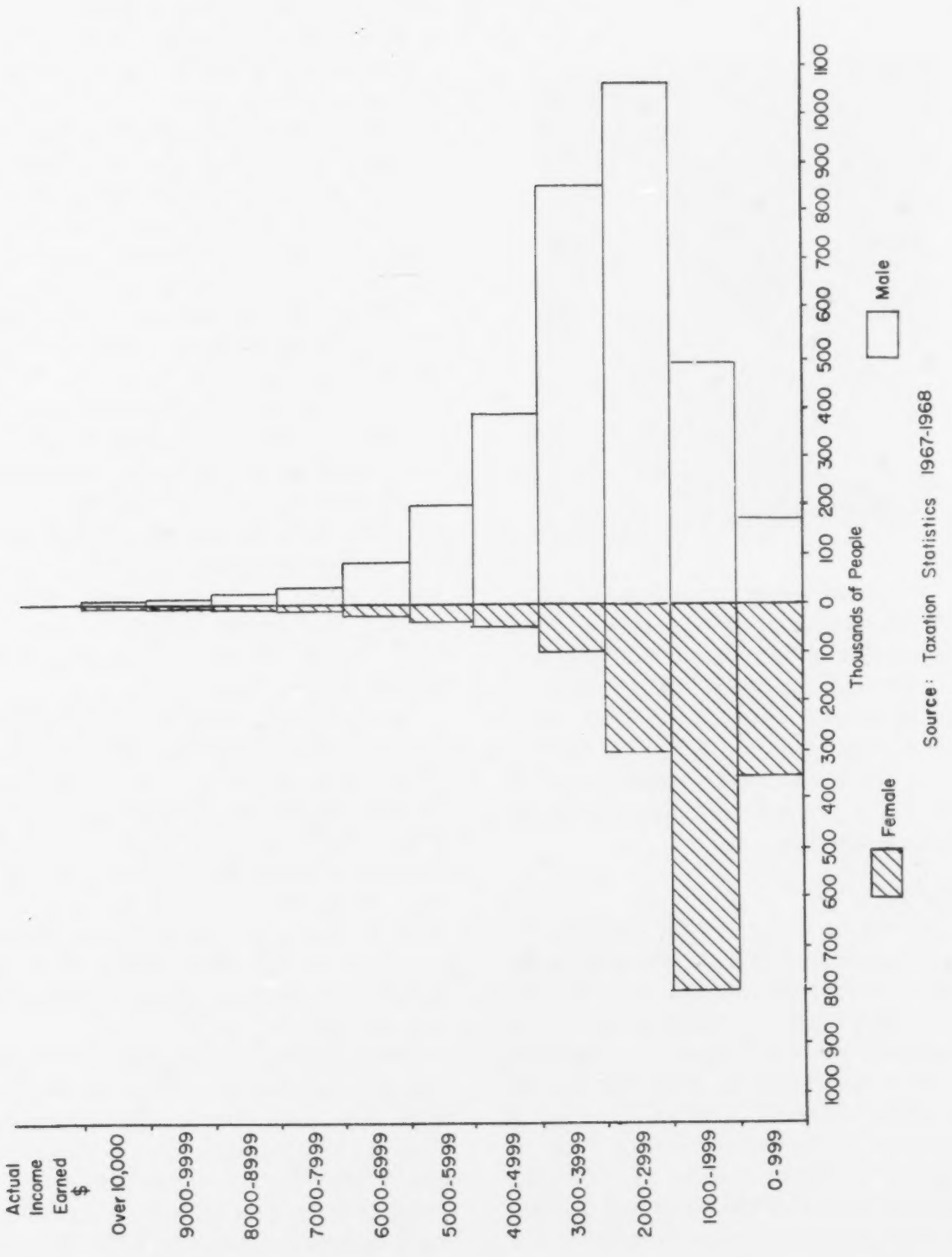


FIGURE 6: *Actual Income Earned, Male and Female Taxpayers, 1966-67*

of women were engaged in law, medicine and engineering (University of Melbourne Appointments Board, 1969).

A recent survey of executive salary systems in manufacturing industry by the Department of Labour and National Service showed that of the 1,801 executives in the survey, only 28 or 1.6% were women (Braybrook, 1969). Yet according to the 1966 Census, women made up 24.7% of the total work force engaged in manufacturing.

Remuneration

There are many factors affecting the remuneration of female workers generally; for example, the incidence of part-time employment, concentration of women in lower skill areas of occupations and an interrupted working life for the majority of female workers.

While on the whole, female rates of pay are lower than those of the male, implementation of the equal pay decision of the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission in June, 1969 will reduce this disparity for many female workers. (The full effects of equal pay will not be discerned until the phasing-in of the decision is completed in February, 1972).

As a matter of interest the comparative incomes, from all sources, of males and females in 1966/67 are shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6 reveals that in 1966/67 50% of female taxpayers had actual incomes below $1,480 (i.e., median income), and only 10% earned more than the male median income of $2,800.

As regards professional occupations, a survey made by the University of Melbourne Appointments Board in 1969 showed that average remuneration of women was lower than that of men in every profession surveyed. Men's remuneration was 40%-100% higher than women's, with the greatest discrepancies occurring in medicine and law. Even in social work, a predominantly female domain, the median female income was only $4,000 compared with the male median income of $5,280.

In the survey of executive salary systems in manufacturing industry cited above, most of the 28 female executives received less than the equivalent male salary. Only six were receiving salaries equal to those of men in the same position. Eight received 80% — 90%; six, 74% — 80%; and three between 60% — 70% of the male salary (For the remaining five women the percentage was not stated.)

Some employers contacted in the survey gave reasons for paying women less than their male counterparts. These included: "75% seems about the going rate"; "they have fewer responsibilities"; "paying women two-thirds of the salary paid to men corresponds to the proportion paid to women working under

awards"; and "the lower salaries are due to age, lack of experience and short length of service" (Braybrook, 1969, p. 197).

Of course as referred to at the beginning of this section, one of the main factors affecting the remuneration of women is that they are concentrated in the lower level skill areas of occupations. In other words they often are not doing the same work as men and do not have the opportunity to work at the higher skill and supervisory levels.

An indication of the contribution which working wives make to family income was obtained from the *Survey of Consumer Finances** conducted in Sydney by Edwards and Gates between 1963-1965. The average contribution of the wife's income to the average family income was 27.8%. The average earnings of the males in the sample was $3,982, and the average earnings of the working wife $1,514.

These few examples demonstrate what is common knowledge, namely that generally the earnings of female workers throughout the occupational range tend to be significantly lower than those of males. Some of the factors contributing to the discrepancy have already been referred to. Behind most of these factors are the special family involvement and responsibilities of many females and, to some extent, the continued existence in the community of narrow attitudes towards the capacities, interests and needs of female workers.

* This pilot study was undertaken among a sample of 459 private dwellings in the Sydney metropolitan area. There were 940 persons in the survey, of whom 360 were in the work force. Women made up approximately 27 per cent of the work force, and married women approximately 14 per cent of the work force in the sample.

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Chapter 4: THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The preceding chapters have indicated the range of women's employment and noted the relatively low position that women generally hold in any occupational grouping. Perhaps the most important factor behind this situation is the way many women prepare for work life.

According to an I.L.O. report *Women Workers in a Changing World:*

> "In many countries, unfortunately, this side (preparing for work life) of a girl's life is not yet taken either seriously or realistically. This attitude, with its practical implication so far as guidance, training and employment are concerned, lies at the root of many of the difficulties women experience in the world of work".
>
> (I.L.O., 1964, p. 24)

It is not only a question of the availability of education and training to girls which influences their employment opportunities, but also of social attitudes which influence both the education and careers they choose.

The need for education for both boys and girls has long been recognised in Australia. The various Education Acts passed in the late nineteenth century by the then Colonies, ensured that education was freely available, and later compulsory for all children over a certain age.

Educational Attainment

A majority of both males and females in the Australian population at the time of the 1966 Census had received some secondary schooling. However, a significant proportion had completed only primary school (approximately 30 per cent) while only a very small proportion had received any form of tertiary education,* (1966 Census data).

Slightly more women than men had received only primary schooling; for many women Intermediate (that is, about the tenth year of full-time education) seemed to be the major terminal point of secondary schooling.

For the women who received a university degree or other tertiary qualifications (about 2 per cent of all women), a greater proportion than men had been trained outside of university (e.g., teachers colleges and colleges of advanced education).

On the whole, however, the educational attainments of women and men are not significantly different, apart from the fact that there are fewer university trained women than men in the community. Such differences hardly account for the dramatic differences in the occupational rating of men and women.

Social Conventions and Educational Trends

> "Admittedly it is often a deliberate choice on the part of females that is responsible for their small representation in some occupations, reflecting perhaps their more limited career aspirations, but very frequently it is the force of social convention that excludes them, either directly from some jobs or indirectly from others, by denying them equal access to educational and training facilities".
>
> (Riach, 1969)

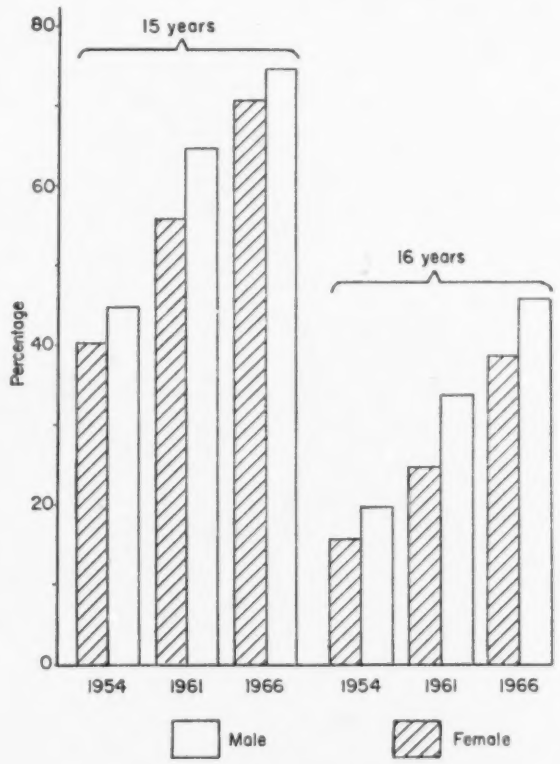
* Full-time students have been excluded from the statistics reported here.

The social conventions of the community are said to explain in part why women on the whole have received slightly less education than men and why women are concentrated in a limited number of occupations. The same conventions have ensured that the majority of men have diversified into a wide range of occupations at both high and low levels of skill. Irrespective of intelligence (which the evidence suggests is equally distributed among men and women), social conventions of earlier generations linger on: even today many regard a woman's place as solely in the home.

In the past the paid working life of a woman ended on marriage, so it was not considered necessary that a girl should receive an education that would equip her for a career. Furthermore, if she did want a job to fill in between school and marriage the traditional areas of office work, sales work, or selected factory work were considered suitable. A long and difficult training was frequently regarded as a waste of time and money. For those with vocational aspirations, there was always teaching and nursing.

However, with the raising of the school leaving age and the changed educational climate of the 1950's at least some secondary education became the norm for school children in Australia. More scholarships became available in order to allow both boys and girls to complete secondary schooling and to attend tertiary institutions.

The result has been that school children (both boys and girls) are less likely to leave school due to the social and economic situation of their families before completing a substantial amount of secondary schooling (See Figure 7).

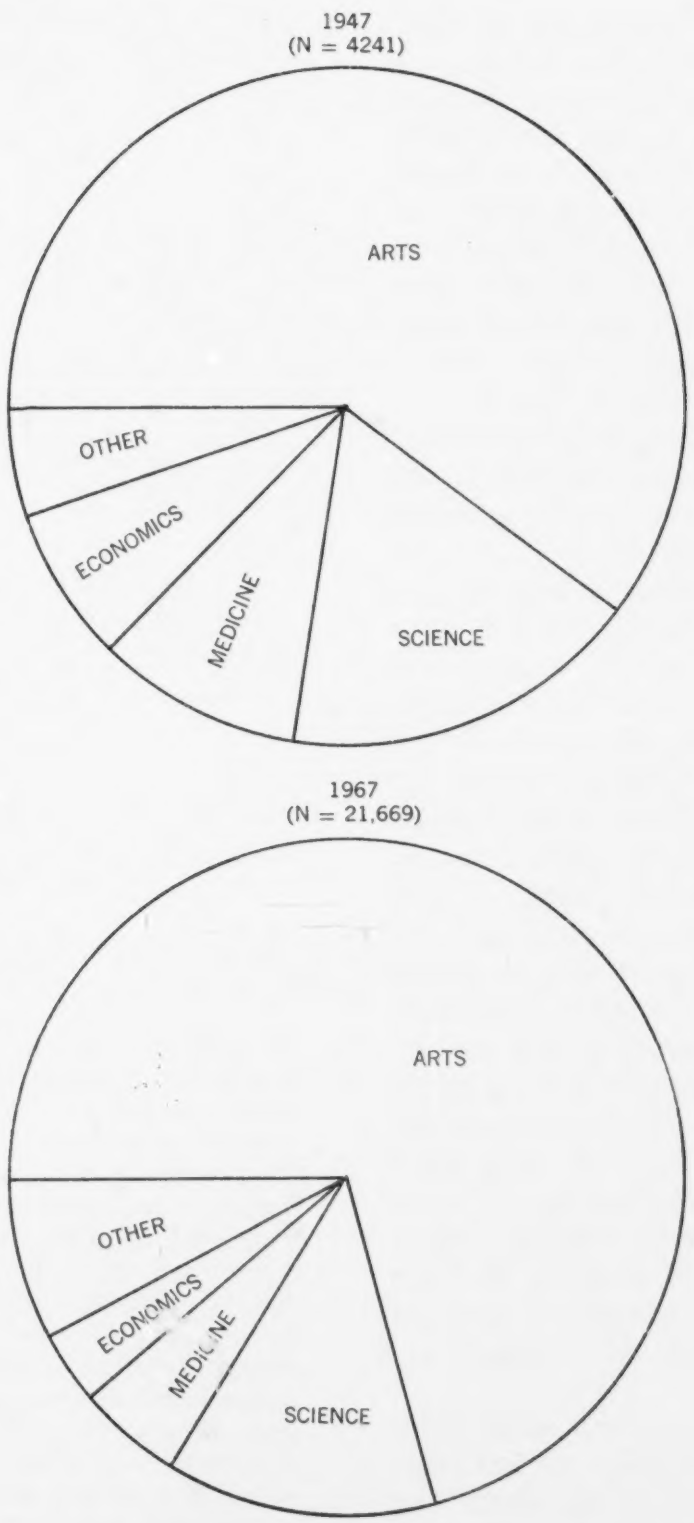


Source: C.B.C.S. Schools, 1954, 1961, 1966.

FIGURE 7: *Percentage of 15 and 16 year olds in Population at School, 1954-1966*

Such a trend has been world wide, as the I.L.O. reports:

> "In recent years in fact, throughout the post war period, there has been widespread and substantial progress in the vocational preparation of girls and women for work life. This progress may be traced to a variety of factors, including the change in social traditions and attitudes towards the role of women in society in general and in economic life in particular, legislation guaranteeing women equal rights with men in all spheres, economic and technological development and expansion which have changed the structure and character of employment opportunity for women, and given them new openings requiring a certain standard of education and training, and the planning of education and training in relation to development plans and programmes with greater allocations of funds for training at all levels and with



Source: C.B.C.S. University Statistics Part 1, 1947 & 1967

FIGURE 8: *Proportion of Female Students Enrolled in Bachelor Degree Courses, 1947 and 1967.*

greater and more realistic recognition of the training needs of girls and women".
(I.L.O., 1964, p. 38)

In addition, of the girls who matriculate, a greater proportion now continue with tertiary studies than their counterparts did twenty years ago. Total enrolments of female students in bachelor degree courses have increased five-fold since 1947; the proportion of females as part of the total undergraduate population rose in the same period from just over 18 per cent to almost 30 per cent.

Of present female undergraduates, seven-tenths are enrolled in Arts or similar courses, and the remainder are distributed in small numbers throughout other faculties, the most popular of which is science. A small proportion of women are undertaking studies in economics, medicine, law, architecture and agriculture,

In 1947, a smaller proportion of girls than today were enrolled in Arts and similar courses, although these courses still attracted the majority of girls. Then a greater proportion of female undergraduates were studying science, economics, medicine, law, architecture, and agriculture.

The main trends in the changing faculty choice of female students between 1947 and 1967 are shown in Figure 8.

Thus, girls' selection of university courses does not appear to have broadened, but rather to have narrowed in the span of twenty years.

In the other tertiary institutions, namely colleges of advanced education, institutes of technology and technical schools the number of girls enrolling is increasing, and at a slightly greater rate than for boys. In addition to hairdressing and commercial courses — areas traditionally favoured by girls — an increasingly wide range of diploma, certificate and trade courses are being taken by girls.

Education and Employment

"Historically, there is a strong relationship between a woman's level of education and her propensity to work. The more educated, the more likely she is to work".
(Waldman, 1969, p. 15)

There seems to be a positive relationship between qualifications and work force participation of women in Australia. Data from the 1966 Census showed that 62.4 per cent of women who had university qualifications were in the work force; similarly with 63.2 per cent of those who had received some other form of tertiary qualifications.

Of the women with skills other than tertiary qualifications (e.g., secretarial, hairdressing), work force participation also increased with level of formal schooling.

Women who gained no qualifications beyond their formal schooling were less likely to work than those with some qualifications. Lowest work force participation rates were among those women who completed only primary school.

Re-training and Refresher Courses

Re-training and refresher courses are often of importance to the woman who wishes to re-enter employment after having been out of the work force some five, ten or even twenty years in order to bear and raise her children. Whether a teacher, a nurse, a typist, a shop assistant, a clothing machinist or a hairdresser, the woman may need to familiarise herself with the latest techniques of her occupation and

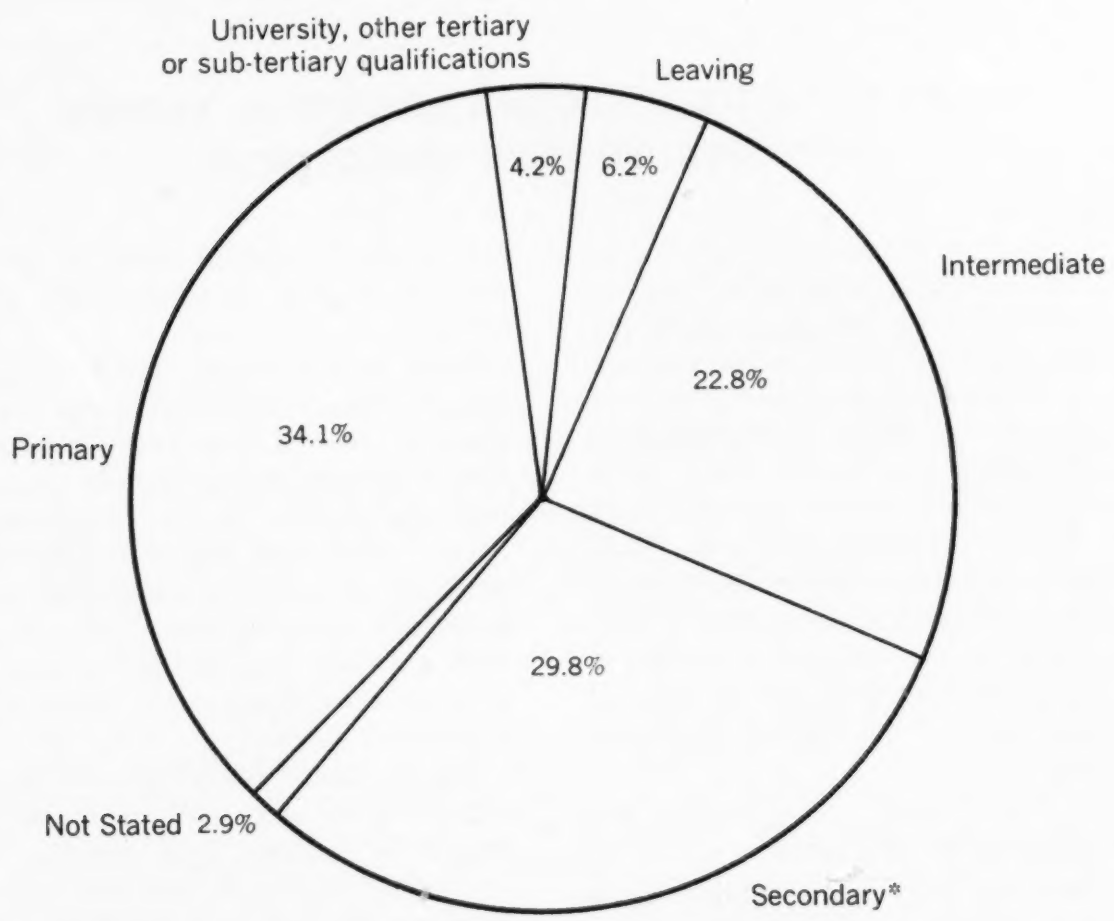
to refresh her skills. There are numerous refresher courses available to women within the existing educational institutions as well as opportunities for on-the-job training with many employers.*

At the same time many married women

who wish to re-enter the work force have few residual job skills combined with a low standard of basic education. In fact, the 1966 Census showed that of the women engaged in home duties less than 10% had reached at least School Leaving Certificate standard at school (i.e., approximately eleven years schooling) and only 4.2% had received any qualifications after leaving school. In fact, the largest proportion of women engaged in home duties were those with primary education only and no vocational training (See Figure 9).

This basic lack of initial educational and vocational training may severely restrict the job opportunities available for many such women. For these women, should they wish to rejoin the work force, the main avenue of vocational training at present would seem to be that offered on-the-job.

* There are several Commonwealth Government schemes offering financial assistance towards the training or re-training of women, e.g. A Widows' Training Scheme has been operative since 1968 for persons receiving specific classes of the Widows' Pension; and an Employment Training Scheme for Women Restricted from Employment by Domestic Responsibilities is currently being implemented.



*Some Secondary but less than Intermediate

Source: Census, 1966

FIGURE 9: *Educational Attainment of Women Engaged in Home Duties, 1966*

Chapter 5: LEGISLATION AND INDUSTRIAL AWARDS AFFECTING WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

Workers in Australia are affected by legislation and regulations as well as decisions and awards of industrial tribunals. As Australia has a federal system of government, each State has its own legislation and awards or determinations which operate only in that State, but in order to settle industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of one State, the Federal tribunal makes awards which are legally binding upon the parties to those disputes. In the event of a conflict of Federal and State laws and awards the former prevail to the extent of the inconsistency.

Working Hours and Leave

Both men and women workers are in general subject to the same standards relating to working hours and leave. The normal hours of work prescribed for the majority of workers are 40-hours spread over a five-day week. Long service leave usually of 13 weeks after 15 years service with the same employer, and at least 3 weeks annual leave are available to all full-time workers. Similarly sick leave, special leave, and other such benefits are available equally to male and female workers.

Health and Safety

Legislation in all States and many industrial awards, both State and Federal, embody safeguards to protect the health and safety of workers some of which relate particularly to women and young persons.

Some awards prevent women working beyond certain hours at night.* For example, the Federal Textile Industry Awards do not permit women to work later than 11 p.m., and the Graphic Arts Award, 1957, does not permit the employment of women on night work (that is, usually operating from 5.30 p.m. to 7.30 a.m.) nor does it allow women to work overtime between the hours of 9 p.m. and 7.30 a.m.

The New South Wales Factories, Shops and Industries Act, 1962-66 prohibited females in factories from working between the hours of 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. However, there was an amending Act passed late in 1969 (proclaimed 1st July 1970). The prohibition of females from nightwork is removed, though it remains in force for males and females under 16 years of age.

Some particular types of jobs are considered dangerous to women; for example: under the Graphic Arts Award, 1957 females are not permitted to use certain types of machinery; in the New South Wales Act, the Minister was previously empowered to prohibit the employment of females on machines classi-

* See "Night Work Restrictions" **Women in the Work Force** No. 4.

fied as dangerous. (From 1st July 1970, these provisions apply only to males and females under 16 years of age).

The Tasmanian Mines Inspection Act 1968 and similar acts in other States prohibit the employment of women in underground mines, with the exception of professional women who are permitted to enter the mines for inspection in special circumstances.

Some awards prevent women from becoming apprentices — this applies in certain areas of the footwear, butchering and printing trades.

There are several provisions relating especially to women or which differ from the relevant provisions for men: for example, with respect to rest periods, seating accommodation, lifting of weights, etc. The Confectioners Award 1959 contains a clause to the effect that a woman must not lift or carry more than 30 lbs, and under the New South Wales Act, the maximum weight that a woman may lift is 35 lbs. The Federal Meat Industry Interim Award, 1965, states that:

> "Where it is possible for female employees to sit at their work, chairs shall be provided. Such chairs shall be reasonably comfortable and have backs to them."

A morning tea break of 10 minutes is guaranteed to all employees working under some awards, e.g., dry cleaning, footwear and clothing manufacturers, but under other awards only female employees are so provided for e.g., in food preserves and graphic arts. The Graphic Arts Award 1957 also provides for a 10 minute break between the second and third hour after starting time for female employees working outside the normal hours.

The question arises as to whether some protective provisions need review in the light of technological advances, changes in community attitudes and in the place of women in modern society. Some legislation and awards probably no longer act to protect the health or safety of women, but may merely inhibit their employment opportunities.

Employment of Married Women

Until recently in the public services and in teaching, there were, in most States, restrictions on the permanent employment of married women; that is, married women could not be recruited to hold a permanent position, and women who were permanent employees had to resign on marriage.

Though few awards similarly restricted married women in non-government employment, in practice they were often subject to some discrimination of this kind.

The so-called "marriage bar" which prevented the permanent employment of married women in the public services has been partially or completely lifted in all public services and teaching services.

Employment of Pregnant Women

Maternity leave provisions designed to protect the woman worker and her child are in effect in most of the public services and teaching services.

In the Commonwealth Public Service, a pregnant woman is entitled to a maximum of 26 weeks' maternity leave, and she must take leave 6 weeks before the expected date of confinement, and 6 weeks after the confinement. Similar provisions apply in the public services of Queensland and Tasmania. In Western Australia and New South Wales, there is

a maximum of 12 months maternity leave available.

In New South Wales, permanent government officers with at least 12 months service prior to the date of confinement receive 4 weeks' leave on full pay, and 4 weeks on half pay. In other States and in the Commonwealth, maternity leave is without pay, but officers may use up whatever paid leave has accrued to them, such as recreation leave, sick leave and long service leave.

In the New South Wales and South Australia Teaching Services a maximum of 12 months maternity leave may be granted and recreation leave, sick leave and long service leave may be used. In Queensland a teacher may be granted 26 weeks maternity leave and 32 weeks is granted in Tasmania. All such leave in teaching services is without pay except that as in the public services any accrued leave with pay can be taken.

Wages

Award wages in Australia in general have traditionally contained a differential between male and female rates in favour of the male. Prior to 1950, Federal awards contained minimum wage rates for females varying between 54% and 100% of the corresponding male rates. The first Federal basic wage for adult females (i.e. a wage determined in a national test case without regard to any circumstances pertaining to the work upon which or the industry in which they were employed) was set in 1950 at 75% of the adult male basic wage. To the basic wage were added margins for skill and other work factors which were assessed on the facts of each case. Margins for females varied as a proportion of margins for males performing comparable work.

In 1967, the National Wage Case decision eliminated from Federal awards the concept of basic wage and margin, and wage rates have since been prescribed in terms of total wages. The amount of the wage increase in that year was applied equally to male and female rates for the first time.

In June, 1969, the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission said it accepted the concept of equal pay for equal work, and defined the extent to which it was prepared to implement that concept.*

Prior to this decision females were already receiving equal pay under some Commonwealth awards — e.g., barmaids, musicians, journalists, television actresses, some bank officials and some shop assistants. State Governments in New South Wales, Western Australia and South Australia, and (in respect of Crown employees) Tasmania, had previously legislated for equal pay for female workers doing work of the same or like nature and of equal value as males. Queensland, over 50 years ago, had legislated for equal pay for male and female workers performing the same work or providing the same return of profits to their employer though this had not been put into effect.†

The 1969 decision by the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission by adopting principles with minor variations already accepted in New South Wales, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania, offers those employed

* The details of the concept are discussed in "Equal Pay Cases Judgment," **Industrial Information Bulletin,** Vol. 24, No. 6, p. 909; and "Equal Pay," Mason, P., **Personnel Practice Bulletin,** Vol. 25, No. 3.

† See Dept. of Labour and National Service: **Equal Pay: Some Aspects of Australian and Overseas Practice,** 1968 (Third Edition), Melbourne.

under Commonwealth awards, and under the determinations of the Commonwealth Public Service Arbitrator, the same rights as those employed in similar situations under State awards. As a consequence of the 1969 decision, equal pay is being implemented where applicable for women in certain classifications of the meat industry and the Commonealth Public Service. In addition there has been a flow from the decision to female process workers under the Federal Metal Trades Award, whilst the Victorian State Public Service and some Victorian Wages Board determinations have been brought into line with the Federal decisions. Other claims are currently before the Commission.

Chapter 6: WOMEN WORKERS: RETROSPECT and PROSPECT

The female work force has grown greatly and continues to grow at a faster rate than the male work force. This growth has occurred because of the entry of large numbers of married women to the work force. However, with one out of every three married women now working, the community, industry and employers may have to pay special consideration to these working women with family responsibilities. Of particular importance to mothers are the provision of child care centres for young children, after-school and holiday projects for school-aged children and the availability of part-time employment.

The educational preparation and formal training of the young, male and female, showed a great upsurge in the 1960's. It is becoming increasingly the pattern for 16 year-olds and 17 year-olds to continue with full-time education. The number of girls undertaking some form of tertiary studies has increased five-fold in twenty years. In the 1960's a new concept in tertiary education, the colleges of advanced education, was established. In these new institutions, girls as well as boys are undertaking a wide variety of diploma and certificate courses to train them for technician and professional occupations in the 1970's.

These colleges of advanced education and the universities are adding new dimensions to existing female-intensive occupations; for example, higher level courses in secretarial work and in nursing are being offered.

The problems facing mature women in equipping themselves for return to work are also being considered. In particular, the Government has introduced schemes to make retraining available to specified groups of women.*

Discrimination against the employment of women, in terms of dismissal on marriage and inequality of wages was seriously challenged in the 1960's and while all vestiges of discrimination have by no means disappeared, at least there have been major advances.

In terms of the industries in which women are employed, and the occupations in which they are engaged, the last twenty years have seen little change. The women who make it to the top positions in their shop, factory, union or office are in the minority. Women who have developed trade skills, apart from hairdressing, are few. But women are engaged in an increasingly wide range of production and process work, they are driving lifts and taxis, delivering bread and so on. In most organisations, however, they are the "hands" and not the "brains".

It appears that in the 1960's women tended to cluster even more noticeably in those educational and training courses which are "acceptable" to girls (e.g., Arts

* See footnote p. 30.

at the university), and in the occupations which offer girls clean work under good conditions (e.g., office work) or in the occupations where job satisfaction is of prime concern (e.g., nursing and teaching).

Clearly there exist barriers of some sort which restrict the wider employment opportunities of women. As shown in Chapter 5, legal restrictions against the employment of women are relatively few, and where they are discriminatory in practice, they are being questioned, investigated and changed.

So far as educational restrictions are concerned, they appear to be made by the individual rather than by any institution. Possibly no schools prohibit girls from undertaking science, but perhaps few schools actively encourage girls and boys to undertake a similar range of subjects—including those subjects associated with domestic arts, woodwork, and so on. In the school curriculum, there appears to be a decreasing place for subjects to be seen as either male or female orientated.

Social restrictions which questioned the right of women, particularly married women, to work have slowly eroded in the face of existing practice. The removal of the 'marriage bar' in the Commonwealth Public Service in 1966 was, in part, recognition of work force needs and in part, recognition of a change in community attitude.

Attitudinal restrictions on the employment opportunities available to women are by far the most important, and difficult to surmount. It has been shown in a wide variety of studies that not only men, employers, and unions question the capacity of a woman to rise to executive status, but women themselves often doubt their own ability to succeed in a decision-making position, and frequently question the ability of other women who achieve such positions.

Studies reported from Britain, Canada, the U.S.A. and Australia all reach much the same conclusions:

> "If a woman sets out to do well... she bumps into a number of obstacles. She learns that it really isn't ladylike to be too intellectual. She is warned that men will treat her with distrustful tolerance at best, and outright prejudice at worst, if she pursues a career".
>
> (Horner, 1969)

In the homes, schools, and universities, those influencing, counselling, and educating young boys and girls have a responsibility to advise them of the wide range of careers available to satisfy their talents and interests. Parents, teachers and vocational counsellors might ensure that their knowledge of contemporary conditions and occupational choices is up-to-date before advising the young of the possibilities open to them.

Ginzberg has summed up the challenges which face women in employment thus:

> "There are many important changes and adjustments that are overdue if our society is to take greater advantage of the potential and developed skill of its women. First, our educational and training systems require adjustment. For instance, girls still shy away from mathematics and the sciences in favour of foreign languages and the arts to an extent that has no justification in terms of what we know about the distribution of aptitude or about the needs of the marketplace. Of even greater importance is the inadequacy of guidance and counselling in the home, school, and community with respect to the educational and occupational planning. Most young women still do not realise that they will spend most of their adult years at work, and they do not know

> how to prepare themselves for the work opportunities they will confront. Few are sophisticated about the different ways to balance career and home. On all these fronts, our society is deficient. We have permitted old models and stereotypes to remain entrenched in the face of a vastly altered reality".
>
> (Ginzberg, 1968, p. 201)

What of the women in the seventies? The model for the sixties has been described in some detail in this report. Whether or not the stereotypes will be changed to meet the needs of women and of society in the seventies depends to a large extent on how effectively the evolution of current patterns is understood and acted upon by employers, industry, unions, parents, teachers, and women themselves.

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